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TO THE

FREEMEN OF VERMONT,

BY THEIR

DELEGATION

TO THE

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION,

HOLDEN AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND,

In December, 1831.

M. H. HOUGHTON, PRINTER,
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TO THE FREEMEN OF VERMONT.

IN pursuance of a resolution of the National Republican Convention holden at the City of Baltimore in December last, recommending to the delegations from the several States to prepare addresses to their constituents, urging upon them the adoption of such measures as may lead to the extension of the principles of the National Republican party, and to the election of the candidates nominated by that Convention, the undersigned, delegates from the state of Vermont, with a deep impression of the importance of the subject committed to their charge, respectfully submit to the consideration of the freemen of this state the following brief Address :—

It has been the peculiar allotment of the people of these United States, from the organization of the government and the adoption of the constitution, during six successive administrations to enjoy a degree of prosperity and happiness, and to witness a rapidity of advancement in the arts and comforts of civil and social life, unequalled in the progress or attainments of any other nation of ancient or modern existence. The assertion of the rights, and the maintenance of the honor of the country in all its intercourse and relations with foreign powers, were at all times held as objects of the most scrupulous regard, while in its domestic administration a watchful care was extended over the interests and the welfare of its entire population. For more than half a century, an illustrious example has been furnished to other nations, and for future times of the possible existence of a Republican government, with the full enjoyment of personal and civil liberty. The meed of approbation so cordially yielded, and by universal acknowledgement, so justly due to the wisdom and policy and integrity of the former administrations of our government, we are constrained to withhold from the one which is now in power. However ungrateful may be the task to cast public censure upon the principles and conduct of those who have been appointed to the highest places of honor and trust in the gift of a free people; yet when we see them departing from the established and approved policy of their predecessors, introducing speculative and dangerous innovations, violating their own repeated pledges, and overlooking the interests of the great body of the people, in the studious practice of expedients for personal and party aggrandizement, it becomes no less an imperative obligation than a rightful prerogative to arraign them before the supreme appellate tribunal of public sentiment; to receive from the sovereign people themselves, the irrevocable sentence of their deliberate disapprobation.

The present Executive of the United States owes its elevation to a combination of causes, a detailed recital of which would be needless as well as incompatible with the prescribed limits of

this address. Among the most prevailing of these causes, may be accounted the imposing charm of successful military service upon the popular mind. In addition to this may be reckoned the unnatural combination of disappointed political aspirants, holding different political doctrines, and whose only bond of union was in the avowed determination to put down the last administration, however able and faithful it might be. Hence the origin of the charge of "bargain and corruption" in the attainment of its elevation; of improvidence and profligacy in the expenditure of the public treasury; of inefficiency and negligence in the discharge of its official duties at home, and of ignorance and imbecility in the accomplishment of its negotiations abroad. The same spirit that would put that administration down "though pure as the angels in heaven;" the same spirit that would pervert all its motives, and denounce its every act; the same spirit that would breathe the foulest calumnies upon the purity of undefiled public character; this same spirit was found little reluctant in the pursuit of its avowed object, to encroach upon the retirement of private life, or to invade the sanctity of the domestic fireside. The people, moreover, were deluded by the promise in the event of General Jackson's election, of a correction of all the pretended existing evils in the government; by the assurance of great retrenchment in the public expenditures; they were allured, in short, by the promise of a grand national "*reform*." Appeals were made to the peculiar sentiments and the local prejudices of the different sections of the country. The south were opposed to the "American system," and were flattered with the prospect of its destruction by the force of executive hostility. The north and west were in favor of this "System," and were equally flattered with the confident assurance, that it would be sustained by executive countenance. Georgia demanded the territory of the Indians, and her rapacity was to be gratified, her vote purchased, and her services rewarded by their immediate removal. Presses and partizans without number, were enlisted in the service of the "hero," not more by ready payment from the contingent party fund, than by the promise of offices and emoluments upon the event of a successful result. These are a few, and these are enough to name of the causes which produced the defeat of the last, and the election of the present executive. "The toga of the civilian yielded to the arms of the warrior." We may now ask what has the country gained, or with more propriety, what has it not lost by the change? How have these flattering promises and excited hopes been realized?—

We ask in the first place, the freemen of Vermont to examine with careful attention the course of this administration in relation to the great and vital subject of the "American System," a subject claiming a political importance paramount to any other as constituting the very life of our State and National prosperity. Your President artfully placing himself upon the unassailable ground of non-committalism, ventured to say that he was in favor of a "judicious tariff." This was the kind of indefinite and undefinable language of candidate Jackson, and of President Jackson in relation to a subject upon which the people had a right to demand,

and a right to know his real sentiments, expressed without reserve, and without equivocation. Instead of this, his opinions were clothed in a cabalistic phraseology, susceptible of any meaning, and of all meanings; possessing the singular characteristic of equal adaptation to the various and opposing views, and feelings of the different sections of the country; and the no less singular quality of being equally acceptable and satisfactory to all his adherents, whether among the free trade men of the South, or the professed tariff men of the North. Hence we saw anti-tariff Virginia and ultra tariff Pennsylvania yielding him their almost entire support, and each, at the same time, claiming his opinions as correspondent with their own upon this subject of National policy. In the tariff Bill emanating from the Treasury department in compliance with a call from the House of Representatives during its last session, we have been favored with an intelligible interpretation of the terms "judicious tariff." We had in this Bill the proposition of a compromise, professing to give protection to American industry, while in its operation it would have proved to be nothing better than a total abandonment of the whole system. The proposed scheme was a compromise of the vital interests of the north, the east, and the west, for the purpose of allaying the clamor of southern denunciation; a compromise which is entitled to no higher regard than of imposition upon the intelligence, and of insult to the feelings of those who have sense enough to understand their interests, and independence enough to maintain them. To the stern integrity of a majority of our National Legislature, is to be accorded the credit of saving the country from the infliction of this newfangled-cabinet-professional-compromising tariff, even though it had been announced as the *favorite* measure of the President himself, and by which he was willing to stand or fall. The Bill of the House of Representatives was so materially modified and improved upon the Treasury Bill, that though perhaps it may not come up to the full measure of adequate protection, yet it is believed it will not, like the original administration project, leave our agricultural and manufacturing interests to total ruin. And if yet, the wool grower and the manufacturer should find their enterprise impeded and their business crippled by foreign competition, they must look for the cause in the motives of a Jackson conference committee in receding from those amendments of the Senate, giving additional protection, except the few which more directly affected the interests of their own particular sections. And if the prosperity of the whole country be not universally paralyzed, the people have seen and learned enough to know that it will not be because Jackson "judicious tariff" men have not attempted it.

The subject of internal improvements has always been one of deep interest with the people, and one of vast importance to the growing prosperity of this country. By the aid of appropriations from the National Treasury, roads and canals have been constructed, rivers and harbors improved, increasing the facilities of intercourse, furnishing markets to distant inland sections, and securing to the whole country a more ready and safe defence in

time of war, and a more abundant prosperity in time of peace. Your President, for obvious reasons, saw fit to hold the same non-committal reservation of his sentiments in relation to this, as upon other commanding questions of National interest, and sectional division; and the only reply obtained to a demand of his opinions, was a reference to a doubtful expression of his views in some former vote, or some long forgotten private communication. Thus his partisans of the North, and the South, the East and the West bound by the same resistless and incomprehensible spell of an unintelligible declaration, each and all, at the same time, drew from the oracle, a constructive favor to their own several and opposing views. The charm was unbroken till the famous Maysville road Bill veto disclosed the deception which had been so successfully practised. The disappointed hopes of those whose expectations and interests had been blasted, found but a sickening antidote in the accompanying message from the Magnus Apollo of the palace, by its admission of the constitutionality of appropriations from the government Treasury to objects of internal improvement which were national in their effect, while it declared the particular object embraced in the Bill under consideration, to be too local in its extension. The friends of the Tariff and internal improvement will find little consolation in that creed of political economy which would regulate all protection by the standard of party favor, and which would regard every object as too limited for the aid of government bounty, unless it encompassed the purposes of party aggrandizement. That this has been the rule of action upon these great questions of national policy, by which this administration has been governed, rather than the general good of the whole country, must be the unanimous admission of all whose impartial attention has been directed to the observance of its proceedings.

In relation to the Bank of the United States, General Jackson has been consistent only in his inveterate hostility, openly avowed in every successive message; originating in the groundless suspicion of its influence having been employed against his election, and strengthened by the ineffectual attempts on the part of his friends to bring its extended operations to bear directly in favor of the interests of his own party. In compliance with the Executive recommendation the subject of the rechartering of the Bank was brought before Congress. The friends of the President foresaw the dilemma in which their chief would be placed in the event of the passage of the Bill, by the disaffection which would be produced in the ranks of his partisans, either by its rejection or approval, and consequently every expedient was devised, every effort used to defeat its passage, and to defer the final action of Congress upon the subject till after the approaching Presidential election. Thus we have another instance of the higher consideration given to the probable effect which an important measure may have upon the success of a party, than to the demands of the public interest. The Institution and its officers have not only received a triumphant acquittal from the charges and insinuations that had been published against them; but the inquisitorial examination which was passed upon the transactions of the Bank, ser-

ved only to increase the public confidence in its integrity, and to show more conclusively its inestimable value as a National Institution, in regulating the currency of the country, in furnishing facilities for our foreign and domestic commercial operations, in providing for the emergencies of war, and other unforeseen exigencies. The Bill for rechartering the Bank was carried through both Houses of Congress by considerable majorities, and as was anticipated; has received the Executive Veto. The President has thus fulfilled his determination to the extent of his ability, to destroy the Bank, and whether for the purpose of gratifying a spirit of personal revenge, or of executing a threat which had been made to awe it into subserviency to his will, or whether to give place to the odious project of a Treasury institution, which should be more directly within the control of the Executive, we have little concern to inquire, since it is sufficient that we now know, the only hope of the continuance of the present Bank, and of saving the country from the general convulsion which would inevitably follow the winding up of its operations, is in an immediate change of the national administration.

The vindictive and persecuting spirit manifested by the present administration towards the Aborigines of our country, demands a strong expression of universal reprehension. Without discussing the question of the political expediency of the removal of the Indians, it is enough to know that the United States more than thirty years ago in solemn treaty, as well as in treaties since made, recognized their exclusive right to their lands, and to their own mode of government; that they pledged the sacred faith of the nation to protect them in the unmolested enjoyment of these rights, to defend them from the encroachments of the surrounding whites, and from subjection to the state authorities; and in fulfillment of these purposes armed troops had been stationed upon their borders. Justice and humanity must pronounce upon this administration the charge of a flagrant violation of the pledged fidelity of the nation, in the withdrawal of these forces; in permitting the whites to invade the Indian territory, and to pillage their gold and flocks and herds; in permitting them even to burn their dwellings upon their heads, and to subject them to the most cruel and unconstitutional enactments of state legislation. Even the messengers of religion who had gone among them with their approbation, and by the authority and encouragement of the National Executive, to impart to them the blessings of civil and christian life, were cast into prison, the associates of common felons, for no higher offence than for not leaving the country at the unauthorized bidding of the State of Georgia. And when they had appealed for relief to the Supreme Judicial tribunal of the land, and when that tribunal had pronounced these proceedings unconstitutional and void, and directed the release of the prisoners, is it not true that the President wholly disregarded this decision, and arrayed himself on the side of Georgia against the Federal Judiciary? Is it not true that his friends in Congress, under his countenance and sanction, made the bold attempt to strike from the National Statute Book, the entire section from which the Supreme Court

of the United States derives its jurisdiction, and thus at one fell blow to demolish this strong bulwark of our National safety? While he has speciously disclaimed the theoretical nullification of one state, has he not thus openly abetted the more treasonable practical nullification of another?

We invite attention also to the course of the devotees of this administration in relation to the public lands. Under the specious plea of the near extinguishment of the national debt, and of an overflowing National Treasury, it was proposed that these lands should be given to the several states in which they are situated, or sold at a mere nominal valuation. This proposition was urged by the Executive and his friends, evidently as a means of gaining favor with the West by so bountiful a donation, while on the other hand, it was regarded as most unjust to the older states by whose blood and treasure they had been purchased; and as furnishing the readiest facilities for their almost entire monopoly by a few monied speculators. The proceeds from the sale of the public lands amount annually to about three and a half millions of dollars, in which every individual in the country has an equal property. The subject was brought up for consideration in the Senate of the United States the past session, and contrary to all precedent was referred to the Committee on Manufactures of which Mr. Clay was a member, for the purpose of throwing an embarrassment in his way by calling out a public expression of his opinions upon a question upon which his own friends were somewhat divided in sentiment. His narrow minded enemies mistook the character of the man they had aimed to injure. Moved by the impulse of his lofty patriotism, and rising above the small considerations of personal popularity, and sectional feeling, he promptly performed the task assigned him, presented his own comprehensive views clearly and unequivocally in a report masterly in design, and unanswerable in argument. Having shown most conclusively the impolicy and injustice of the administration project, he presented the more noble and liberal proposition of distributing the proceeds of the public lands among all the States of the Union, in the proportion of their relative population, to be applied to the purposes of education, internal improvement, and colonization, or to either of these objects as should be deemed most politic. This proposition of Mr. Clay would bring into the Treasury of Vermont an annual sum of about sixty thousand dollars. When our farmers are called upon by their collectors for the payment of a burthensome taxation, they may then at least, appreciate the importance of the proposed measure and the motive which defeated it. The Bill was carried through the Senate, and for further knowledge of it, we can only point to the vote of the House of Representatives, where the almost entire catalogue of administration names will be found recorded against the present consideration of the subject, and constituting a negative majority of *four votes*. Let the apologists of the administration give a better reason, if they can, for this proceeding, than the apprehension of the general approbation which so wise a measure would secure to the ability and magnanimity of

its author. And from it let the people also take another lesson of instruction concerning the regard of their rulers for the public welfare upon any measure, when brought in competition with the advancement of party interests.

We have thus very briefly noticed the prominent acts and principles of this administration in relation to some of the most important questions of national interest, in all of which we find its undivided influence directed against the established and approved policy of the country. This fact alone presents a sufficient cause to excite our most fearful alarm, and to call forth our utmost endeavor to place the government in other and safer hands. But there are still stronger reasons than all these, of united and unyielding opposition to the political faction which now holds the reins of power. The recital of the long list of its more direct and flagrant abuses is not yet begun. A passing allusion to some of them is all that our limits will allow us to give.

We remember well the exulting promises of a grand National reform; reiterated through all the organs of government from the inductive address of the Military President, down to the veriest minion in his service. We remember well the promised blessings that were to gladden the land under the administration of the "Hero of New Orleans." We remember well that the spirit of party was to be subdued, and the days of universal harmony be restored. And now, we ask, what has been the fulfillment of all these promises? How far have these excited hopes and fancied blessings been realized? How far has the spirit of party and the spirit of faction been subdued? The answer cannot be mistaken. You have seen the Chief Magistrate of this Republic; the constituted guardian of the people's rights, descending from his exalted station, and degrading the dignity of his official character, to become the vindictive persecutor of those who had dared to exercise the privilege of American Citizens, in opposing his elevation. The decree of proscription was passed against all within the reach of Executive vengeance, who had presumed to doubt the infallibility of Andrew Jackson, and refused to subscribe to the articles of the Jackson faith. Neither age nor character nor public service gave protection from this blighting scourge. It reached alike the high and the low the rich, and the poor. He whose life and fortune had been spent in his country's service, and whose hard wrought earnings supplied, perhaps, the wants of a dependent family, was numbered with its willing victims. The hoary-headed patriot and the war worn soldier, who had bared their bosoms in their country's battles, who claimed their country's gratitude and their country's bounty too, even these were not spared the lash of the tyrant's rod. And more than this, for the purpose of sheltering the Executive from the scorn and indignation of the country, under a specious pretence for this universal proscribing system, the presses and panders of power were set at work to blast the fair character of the removed incumbents of office, by the wanton charge of infidelity to their trust.

You saw a universal and indiscriminate scramble for a division

of the "spoils of victory." You saw the National Mansion House surrounded by a clamorous multitude demanding the reward of their electioneering services. You saw the places of power and trust from the embassy plenipotentiary to the sub-deputation of a sixpenny post-office, dealt out to countless swarms of partisan starvelings, with little reference to character or qualification, except that they presented the certified credentials of orthodox Jacksonism. Hence you have seen many of the important offices of government filled with ignorant and illiterate men wholly unqualified for the business of their station. And you have seen nominations made to places of honor and trust of men whose characters were branded with the infamy of the foulest crimes, and whose names stood registered upon the Judicial records of criminal indictments. This is but a partial exhibition of the practised system of "rewards and punishments;" a single illustration of the "searching operations" of Jackson's 'reform.' "

Is it asked how far the promises of retrenchment in the expenditures of the government have been fulfilled? We can only answer that the annual public expenses of this administration have exceeded those of the corresponding years of the last administration, by more than seven hundred thousand dollars. The recall of all the foreign ministers, and the sending out of political partisans, with their twenty thousand dollar draft from the public Treasury;—the multiplication of clerkships in the several departments of government with increased salaries;—and the granting of swindling contracts to personal favorites whose characters were too notoriously base, to venture a reward of their electioneering services by the entrustment of public offices, are a few specimens of the boasted retrenchment of this administration.

We ask you seriously to consider these violated promises and pledges, these abuses and insults to the common sense of the country. We ask you to call to mind the outrages which have been committed against the moral feeling of the country, from the commencement of this administration to the present time. We ask you to recur to the odious scenes which have been exhibited at your National Capital; the unwarrantable quarrel fastened upon the second officer of the government, for the evident purpose of removing him from the way of the aspiring designs of a darling favorite. We ask you to review the disgraceful exhibitions of the Cabinet explosion; the attempt to control the social intercourse of the Cabinet families; the ensuing crimination and recrimination of the Cabinet Ministers, and their lying in wait for one another, with armed attendants at the midnight hour. We ask your consideration of the exposed intrigues of the prime mover, and the secret instigator of these outrages; his unintelligible letter of resignation, and his subsequent appointment to the British Court. We ask you to remember the virulent abuses and denunciations against the Senate of the United States for the righteous exercise of a constitutional prerogative in rejecting his nomination. We ask you to call to mind the daring threat to "cut down" the Senatorial term of office to two years, and to strip them of their power as a co-ordinate branch of the Executive, whereby we

should have a Chief Magistrate whose will should be as unrestrained, and whose authority as unlimited as that of the Grand Sultan. We ask your reflection upon the literal fulfilment of a notorious prophecy, in the "necessity of your representatives legislating with dirks and pistols by their side," to defend their persons from the assaults and violence of braggart bullies who lurk about your National Capitol, in the very walls of the consecrated Temple of American freedom. We ask you to review these scenes, and then say has not the moral sense of the country been outraged? Have not the honor and the dignity of the American character been degraded and disgraced?

Have you not, moreover, witnessed the too successful attempt to convert the whole machinery of the Post-office department into a party electioneering engine? Have you not seen the whole artillery of the government presses pouring out their unmeasured abuse against all who should dare to oppose the over-reaching aspirations of the Chief Magistrate? Have you not seen your country presenting the humbling spectacle of a proud and independent nation, bending the suppliant knee to a foreign power, and begging as a special "*boon*," that, which it was her province to demand as a palpable "*right*?" And is it not true that the President himself is lending his entire influence, and bringing into requisition every possible means, to force upon the government as his successor, the very man who has been the chief instrument in bringing upon her this humility and degradation; the very man upon whose public conduct, the Senate of the United States has placed the broad seal of reprobation? These are plain facts which are incapable of denial, or concealment, or palliation. They have passed before the eyes of an intelligent people. They are spread out to the view of the world, in broad and indelible characters upon your National escutcheon. They will be transmitted to other times, and to other nations, in a dark page of your country's history. You will find still other reasons for opposing the re-election of the present Chief Magistrate, in his ungovernable passion, and his revengeful spirit; in his total want of common literary attainments, and his palpable ignorance upon all the great and complicated questions of National policy; in his bringing around him a controlling and irresponsible agency; in the necessity imposed upon him of employing other hands to prepare his public papers; in the deceptions practised upon him by the devices of his political advisers; in the inconsistencies and contradictions of his precepts and his practices, as shown by his numerous appointments of members of Congress to office, when he had himself denounced the practice as conducive to corruption; and by his urging such an amendment of the Constitution as should render the President ineligible a second term, and at the same time employing every means in his power to secure his own re-election. And as last of all his acts we would refer to the recent appointment of Samuel Gwynn as Register of the land office in the State of Mississippi. Let it be remembered that this nomination was presented to the last Senate and rejected. Let it be remembered that a renomination was presented and by a resolution, was laid

upon the table ; and contrary to all expectation was called up at the very eve of the session, when it was again rejected by a decisive voice of the Senate. And let it be remembered, too, that Congress had no sooner adjourned, than this same appointment was made by the President, and officially announced in the government organ ; and then let it be said whether this was not an arbitrary and unconstitutional assumption of power, a wilful transcendency of Executive authority, a direct and studied insult to the character of the Senate, an impeachable transgression of the oath and obligations of the President, and a violent outrage upon the common intelligence and the common sense of American freemen. All these facts, and the whole history of this administration are before the eyes of the people. The charity of friendship cannot conceal them ; the spirit of malice could not desire them to be more glaring.

Where, we ask, and what are the boasted achievements of this administration ? Let its votaries point out to us one National act ; let them unrol the journal of your National Legislature, and search the records of the public Departments for the last three years, and point out to us one act, if they can, of Executive recommendation, or of diplomatic agency, which shall redound, in any degree, to the interest or the honor of the country. We believe the attempt would be in vain. True, you have been told of the settlement of the West India trade, as a glorious achievement of this administration. You have not forgotten the triumphant announcement of the deed long before the publishment of the official proclamation, accompanied by the ridiculous declaration that the *wisdom* of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren had achieved what the *ignorance* of John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay had failed to accomplish ! You have not forgotten the hosannas that were shouted, and the pæans that were rung through the land, to the praises of "the greatest and best." You have not forgotten that the honor of the mighty achievement was accounted not unworthy the celebration of a grand National Jubilee ; that this alone was to consummate the immortal renown of the administration, and to "wrap it in a blaze of glory." The people were put upon the extreme of anxious expectation for the vast benefits that were to result from the long wished settlement. But the day of disclosure came : the proclamation was issued : the terms of the adjustment were made known ; and then, indeed, all these high-wrought hopes were blighted. This glorious achievement, which had thrown the country in a rapture of ecstasy sunk to nothing better and nothing else than a bartering compromise of the National character, for the pitiful privilege of having your produce shipped in *British* vessels to the West India markets, at the sacrifice of more than the three-fold value of the previous carrying trade. The honor of the nation was yielded, and the rights of the people bargained away to purchase the favor of Royalty, and to subserve the expected honor of "the Republican party." "The blaze of glory" was transformed to a lurid cloud that hung darkly over the hopes and the prospects of the country.

Are we told about the wisdom and economy of this administra-

tion in paying off the National debt? We ask, what is the amount of credit due the present Executive in applying the government funds for this purpose, furnished to his hands from sources over which he had never any control? What higher credit than for doing what he could not avoid? The extinguishment of the National debt will be altogether due to the operation of a system of means devised in wiser councils than of the "Military Chieftain," and in which he had no participation; a system planned and settled while he was basking in the shades of the "hermitage," little regarding the civil affairs of the government, except to draw from its Treasury his annual stipend. The arrogant language of the last message about paying off the National debt in the first term of "his administration," but illy contrasted with the more becoming modesty of his former years, in the acknowledgement of his unfitness for any civil office, and in the later declaration, that he held himself "not quite so much of a fool as to suppose himself worthy of consideration for the office of President." Are we told of the settlement of any foreign claims? We reply, that the two or three instances of a seemingly favorable adjustment, have been nothing more than an accomplishment of arrangements formed and all but consummated by the former administration, and to whom belongs the credit; with the exception of the indemnification for French spoliation, which was facilitated by the peculiarly favorable circumstances of the late revolution.

Our prescribed limits admonish us to pursue this examination no further. If such then is but a brief and imperfect review of the character and principles of this administration; if four years of misrule, restrained in some degree by the expediency of a specious appearance for the preservation of the popular favor in the coming election; if four years have served to raise up an organized political faction above the Constitution and laws of the land; if that faction has already laid its polluting hand upon the spotless ermine of the Federal Judiciary, and bid defiance to its decrees; if it has already subverted the theory and the practice of the Government, and violated its most sacred pledges; if it has already overstepped the limits of its delegated authority and assumed the boldness of dictation to the people in the choice of their rulers; what have you to expect from the continuation of its power another Constitutional term? What else than unblushing profligacy and corruption through all the departments of government? What else than unlimited usurpation and unmeasured audacity under a new impulse from the suffrages of a free people? What else than a compromise of your national honor for the smiles of Royal favor; and a sale of your civil birthright for less than "Esau's pottage?" It is no idle appeal to your fears, to declare that the approaching contest presents a momentous crisis. It is no idle conjecture that upon its results may depend the perpetuity of the civil institutions and the civil liberty of this Republican Government. The history of the world offers its unequivocal authority for the declaration. You may read an instructive lesson in the doom of ancient Greece and Rome, or of modern Venice and Florence. Their liberty remained with the virtue of their public councils; but when bribery and corruption, and the spirit of faction had seized upon them, their Eagle sped its flight; and their glory was blotted out. The liberties of your country are less endangered by all other political evils, than by the restless spirit of political faction. If the "eyeless monster shall but find a guide to place his hand upon the pillars of your Constitution, this fairest and noblest fabric of human wisdom is brought to the dust.

In view then of these considerations you are invoked by all the motives of personal interest, by all the blessings of civil government, and by the moving spirit of patriotism itself, to join with united voice and heart and hand to arrest the impending curse. You are called upon by your gratitude to your fathers for the rich inheritance of your social and civil privileges, the purchase of their toil and blood; and by your obligations to transmit that inheritance unimpaired to coming generations, to put forth your unceasing efforts to save your country from the dire calamity which threatens it. There is yet enough of moral energy in this nation, if brought into exercise, to place its government in more competent and more faithful hands, and to redeem it from the dishonor which has been brought upon it.

We know that we have to contend against a party strong in power, and skilled in stratagem. We know that we have to oppose a combination of political factionists who "fight for the spoils of war." We know that we have to resist the combined influence of the government patronage, and the dazzling allurements of military glory. We shall have to meet on every side, the all-

prevailing argument of "huzza for Jackson!" We shall have to be told a thousand times again, as we have been told a thousand times before, of the "Victory of New Orleans;" of the matchless exploits of the "hero of two wars;" of the valor and daring of the "veteran soldier;" of the frugality and economy of the "Tennessee farmer;" and the ears of the multitude will be courted with the rehearsal of the omnigenous excellencies of "old Hickory!" All classes and all tastes will be furnished with a character described precisely to their admiration. We shall be told about the "finished composition," the diplomatic skill, the political sagacity, the statesmanlike talents, and the "Roman dignity" of "President Jackson!" His every saying will be recorded as a proverb of wisdom, and his every act, almost as an achievement of prophetic foresight. We shall be told still about the blessings of "*reform*" and "*retrenchment*!"—about the settlement of the West India trade; the payment of the National debt, and in short, about the adjustment of all the conflicting questions that have hitherto agitated the country. On the other hand, the whole opposing party will be incessantly denounced as "unprincipled disorganizers," as "disappointed office seekers," as an "overbearing aristocracy." The unceasing effort will be preserved to render them obnoxious to the prejudices of the common people, by the application of the ridiculous nicknames of "order and decency party," "ruffled shirt gentry," and such like witless appellations. It is against all such arts of deception, and combinations of power, that we have to contend. But the people have only to know their own interests, and the true character of their rulers; they have only to know the injuries that have been inflicted upon themselves, and the dangers which threaten their country to rise in their strength and put an end to this "reign of terror and of blood." It is true they are beginning to see the deception which has been practised upon them, and the wrongs they have suffered. They are beginning to understand their own rights, and are preparing to assert them. A glorious civil victory is to be won or lost, and the Nation is gathering its strength for the conflict. Union and action are alone wanting to secure a triumphant result. Every day adds new encouragement to our hopes, and new strength to our confidence. We rejoice to see, in the gigantic state of New York, the people casting off their personal prejudices, and their local feelings; overcoming all subordinate considerations, and uniting their energies to "put down" the iron handed despotism of the nation. In other states, too, in obedience to the dictates of reason and patriotism, and to the demands of their country's honor and welfare, multitudes of the former adherents of the administration are frankly avowing their disappointment and disgust, and publicly disclaiming their longer allegiance to it, and joining their strength with the efforts of the friends of good order and civil government.

The freemen of Vermont have much to do in this work. They have no less of interest and of character at stake upon the result of the coming contest, than an equal population of any other section of the Union; and that result may depend upon their choice. It is true, that we have little to fear in this State from those who denominate themselves Jackson men. Their numbers are comparatively few and feeble. But the recent introduction of the isolated and distracting question of Masonry and Antimasonry has created divisions among our own friends, and formed the standard of an exclusive political party. We are not about to come forward as the vindicators of the Masonic institution, nor to impugn the motives of those who have arrayed themselves against it. We are willing to accord to a majority at least of its opponents, laudable intentions and an honest zeal. We are willing that the institution of Masonry should be subjected to public scrutiny and that all its follies and vices, whatever they may be, should be revealed to the light of day. We are not unwilling that the Institution itself be crushed and utterly exterminated from our land. But with this expression of our sentiments, we are constrained on the other hand, to declare our strong conviction of the mistaken means employed for the attainment of the desired object. The subject of the evils of Masonry, real or imaginary, is solely a question of moral consideration; it is not in itself political; it reaches no question of political economy. The Constitution of our country has wisely excluded from the pale of political regulations, all questions of moral duty; of moral right and wrong, and properly left them to the understandings and consciences of men. The experience of the world has shown that all moral evil will find its surest correction in an enlightened public sentiment. This is most clearly evinced in the efficacy which has attended associations for the suppression of intemperance. No one would doubt the impropriety of making this a political question; and yet no one will deny that it is more than a ten fold

greater evil to this country and to the world than was ever Freemasonry. If Masonry has taken one victim, intemperance has dragged its thousands from all ranks of society, and made humanity to weep her rivers of blood over its moral desolations. Religion bears a nearer similitude to the holiness of its heavenly origin where it is unshackled by the trammels of political connections, than where it has been borne down to the dust by the clogs of political authority. And yet if Masonry may be made political, with equal propriety intemperance may be made political, and even religion may again be made political as in the dark ages of Papal Supremacy; and again, as the fire and the faggot were the merciful weapons of "reformation" under the dominion of the Roman See, so may the halter and the scaffold become the common instruments of modern political fanaticism. But heaven forbid that our country should come to this! Now admitting all the enormities of Masonry which its worst enemies have charged upon it, admitting, even that, in some instances, it has violated the laws of the land, and evaded the arm of justice; we can see no reason why the innocent should be made to suffer alike with the guilty. We cannot indeed join in an indiscriminate proscriptive crusade against all who may happen to have been united with an Institution, whether good or bad, which has had among its members very many of the best patriots of the land, and which counts upon its list the immortal names of a Washington, a Franklin, a Clinton and a Lafayette; and we will add too, the names of a Clay and a Wirt. But we say that we will go as far as our ability will lead us to bring an enlightened public opinion to bear against the evils of Masonry wherever we may discover them. Common observation, and common experience teach us that this is the only way in which these, or any other moral evils can be corrected. Political proscription never can accomplish it. But we have not inclination, nor is this the occasion for discussing this question at large.

We have another object in view, which to our minds is of higher concern than can be presented in the abstract question of Masonry and Antimasonry. We fear more for the welfare of our country from the evils of a corrupt and reckless administration, than we are able to apprehend from all the pretended abuses and power of Freemasonry. The great body of the Antimasonic party hold the same sentiments with us upon all great questions of national policy, and hold the same opinion with us in regard to the character of the general administration. Taking, then, for granted, what must be admitted by all whose passion and prejudice have not overcome the common exercise of their reason, that the Presidential candidate of the National Republican party is the only one who by any possibility can be carried against the present incumbent; we candidly propound the question, whether by uniting with us, they will become instrumental in securing to the country the triumph of those great national principles for which we are alike contending, or whether by an obstinate separation upon a comparatively trifling and unimportant question of feeling, rather than of opinion; they will incur the responsibility of hazarding the chances of a perpetuation of all the evils and abuses of a ruthless Dynasty which makes the very land to mourn. We make the appeal not to the leaders of the party; not to those who, in the ferment of public excitement, have been beaten up from the shades of obscurity, and become elated with an ephemeral notoriety; nor to those who would ride upon the storm to gather the fragments of its desolations. But the appeal is made to those only, who act under the impulse of an honest conviction, and with a view to the ultimate best good of the country. Such, we believe, will cordially give their support to our Presidential candidate seeing, that by so doing, they will yield no principle of their own political doctrines, and will best promote the interests of the country, in the alternative, if they please to consider it, by selecting the least of what they may deem to be a choice of evils. We add no more upon this subject.

The nomination of Henry Clay for the office of Chief Magistrate of the United States has been hailed with universal acclamation. To him the eyes of the American people have long been turned as the beacon of their country's hope. In the darkest hours of her adversity he has been the bold defender of her rights. His praises are inscribed upon the Journal of her national legislature, and upon the records of her foreign diplomacy. His name is associated with the cause of civil liberty and of human rights over the earth. In his recent Senatorial career, we have seen him taking a prominent part in all the leading subjects of debate, and shedding upon them the light of his wisdom and experience. On all occasions he has appeared the bold and fearless champion of his country's interest, sustaining them by all the energies of his mighty mind, and by all the powers of his unrivalled eloquence against the combined assaults of government

power and party faction. We cannot doubt that the people will sustain such a benefactor. The very suspicion itself would be a distrust of the common justice, and a reproach upon the common intelligence of the nation. Who among us that will not acknowledge himself an admirer of the character of Henry Clay, and not more so, of his talents and his eloquence, than of his unbending integrity; his frank and generous and lofty spirit; and his burning devotion to the interests and the honor of his country? Who among us that does not feel the pulsation of patriotism beat higher and warmer in his bosom at the utterance of his name? Who, indeed, that does not applaud the magnanimity, the moral sublimity of character exhibited through a long period of fiery and fiendlike persecution? When the spirit of calumny had hunted him through all the walks of life, from his highest official station to the hallowed shades of domestic retirement; when the vocabulary of detraction had been exhausted upon him and the fell spirit of slander had exhaled upon him its deadliest fumes; we have seen him "standing erect," unsubdued by the strength of the arm of power, unsullied by the breath of the authorised reviler. And if they will, "let his enemies heat the furnace of persecution seven times more, and seventy times hotter," he will still come from its fires unscathed and unharmed. We have heard him utter no complaint for all this. We have heard from him no appeal to our sympathies for the wrongs that have been done him. In the consciousness of his own rectitude, he demands only simple justice, and appeals for decision upon his conduct to the judgment of a magnanimous nation. The verdict of the people will be in his favor. There is a spirit of redemption in the land. The clouds and fogs of prejudice will be swept away; and his name shall live in honor when the memory of his persecutors shall be forgotten. His civic wreath shall gather perennial freshness when the last laurel from the brow of the "hero of New Orleans" shall have withered and fallen. Macedonia may boast the petty strides of her Alexander; the Roman bards may sing the triumphs of her Cæsars; and the genius of sculpture may erect her proudest mausoleums to the valor of England's warriors; but it shall ever be the boast of America to honor the names of her civilians and statesmen and orators to honor the nobler triumphs of the mind, "whose walks are above the red scenes of blood and carnage." We have been told that "he is fallen, and can never rise again." The commanding elevation he occupies before the eyes of the world, and the universal expression of enthusiasm in his behalf lend their testimony to the absurdity of the declaration. He could never number a larger array of firm and decided friends than at the present time. And his are friends too whose adherence is not dependent upon the mere expectancy of official reward; it is the strong and indissoluble attachment which springs from a high sense of his personal claims and his public services. Such, and more than this, is Henry Clay. By his election to the office of Chief Magistrate of this Republic, our country will secure the National blessing of placing at its head one who will ably and faithfully administer its laws, and who will respect the rights and the wishes of its citizens; who will restore the lost dignity of the government; who will give permanency to its civil Institutions, and guidance and stability to the great measures of national interest. Let every freeman therefore, give his heart and hand to the business of bringing about this great political reformation. It is the cause of truth. It is the cause of Justice. It is the cause patriotism. It is no less than the cause of our country's salvation. Union and action, we repeat it, are all that are wanting to secure its triumph.

By the nomination of John Sergeant to the office of Vice President, you are called upon to support one who is justly esteemed as the pride of Pennsylvania, and an honor to the country. His commanding talents, his purity of moral character, his comprehensive views of National Policy, and his watchful care for the rights and the welfare of the country have gained for him the highest esteem, and the entire confidence of the American people.

Such, fellow citizens, is the cause in which you are to engage: such the Candidates you have to support. We now have only to conclude with the borrowed admonition of the hero of Trafalgar to his valiant men, when upon the contingencies of an hour was hung the fall or the triumph of England's glory:—
YOUR COUNTRY "EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY."

**WILLIAM JARVIS,
 ROBERT TEMPLE,
 PHINEAS WHITE,
 WILLIAM A. GRISWOLD,
 DAN CARPENTER,
 THOMAS D. HAMMOND**